

THE WORLD

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TOMORROW



Hitler's Aim

H. N. BRAILSFORD

Motives for a New Order

GEORGE A. COE

Prophets and Society

E. G. HOMRIGHAUSEN

APRIL 12th

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Gold from Steel

KIRBY PAGE

credence is to be given to the recent announcement of intended withdrawal from the Second International, the fascists have succeeded in their designs. Socialism will try to save itself by becoming an adjunct to the fascist scheme of things, in the hope, no doubt, that it will be allowed to pursue a policy of mild opposition to the government. All this would mean a pathetic end for a great political movement, which began with the revolutionary purpose of destroying capitalism and establishing socialism but which has been for some years the chief bulwark of a capitalist democracy. During that period of collaboration with bourgeois parties it lost its revolutionary zeal to an ever increasing degree. If now it should end by capitulating to capitalism and leave the field of opposition to communism alone, it would give a rather sad point to the tale of compromise. But it would also leave an important lesson on the difficulty of combining trade union strategy with an adequate political program for the establishment of socialism. Further developments must be awaited before a full judgment on Socialist strategy in Germany is justified.

Europe's New Generation

Are Germany's college students mainly fascists? They are. And Italy's are the same. Nor can it be denied that the vast majority of university undergraduates across the Atlantic are either conventional in their attitudes or indifferent to social questions. Nevertheless, valiant, alert minorities continue to thrust their radical challenges before the eyes of those who prefer to have a blind conformist to rely on.

No better proof of this could be found than the response evoked by the New History Society, of New York, through its prize contest conducted in European universities. This organization offered three prizes of \$300, \$200, and \$100 respectively for the best essays by students on "How can the youth of the universities and schools contribute to the realization of a United States of the World?" This far-flung topic was chosen deliberately, in an effort to stir undergraduate thought along lines of drastic reconstruction of states. From 191 universities 391 essays were submitted. No fewer than 26 countries were represented by the contestants. Austria, for example, sent 28; Belgium, 21; Czechoslovakia, 16; France, 54; Switzerland, 25; Rumania, 30; Poland, 23; Jugoslavia, 11; Hungary, 33; Great Britain, 27; and, perhaps most interestingly, in view of recent events in the Reich, Germany, 75—the largest number from any single country. The European judges in the essay contest are Albert Einstein, Viscount Cecil, Salvador de Madariaga, Gilbert Murray, Emile Borel, Colonel Picot, Ludwig Quidde, and W. E. Rappard. *THE WORLD TOMORROW* is represented by Devere Allen, acting as the American judge. Clearly, the fascists, militarists, and reactionaries can-

not have everything their own way, for contests such as this, even though nothing tangible may immediately fruit from the seeds that are sown, give the minority youth who are eager to escape from the old feuds of nationalism a chance to try their mettle at concrete proposals.

What is Left of German Culture?

The National Socialists in Germany are never tired of boasting about the fine flower of their German *Kultur*, nor of loudly asserting their determination to promote it. They have now been in power for a little over a month and the results indicate the degree of cultural advance which may be expected of them. Germany's greatest scientist, Einstein, is in exile and about to give up his citizenship in disgust and indignation. A Nobel prize-winner, Thomas Mann, the author of *Buddenbrooks* and *The Magic Mountain*, has been driven out of the country, as has his brother Heinrich. Lion Feuchtwanger, Emil Ludwig, Arnold and Stefan Zweig have also left, and Remarque had previously been driven to seek refuge in Switzerland. The Nazis have thus made a clean sweep of the seven leading German men of letters. Bruno Walter, conductor of the Berlin opera, who, next to Toscanini, is probably the most brilliant of European conductors, has been dismissed from his post, as has Fritz Busch, the able conductor of the Dresden opera. Signor Toscanini's protest against such actions probably means that he will not conduct at Baireuth this summer, to the immeasurable loss of the Wagner festival. Max Reinhardt, who has helped to revolutionize the production of modern drama, has been forced out, while Moïsse, the greatest actor in Germany, has been compelled to quit the stage. The ablest German editor, Theodor Wolf, has been forced to flee at the risk of his life, and a host of teachers, doctors, lawyers and other professional men have been squeezed out by the use or threat of force. Among these is Melchior Palya, the distinguished economist of the Deutsche Bank and one of Europe's leading authorities on money and banking. Most of these men are Jews, but not all.

The plain truth of the matter seems to be that in their zeal to promote what they consider "German culture," the Hitlerites have swept away nearly everything which has given Germany any real distinction in literature, art and science. No group of inflamed Babbits could create a greater cultural waste than this, and we hope that the egregious Count Keyserling may at last hold his tongue about the inferiority of America and hide his head for shame. This, however, is too much to expect.

It has certainly been demonstrated anew that a fierce nationalism is the enemy of all true culture and that its dominance leaves a country intellectually and artistically stale, flat, and insipid. We hope that the immi-

gration bars may be lifted so that the fine and talented men who have been driven from Germany may find refuge and a chance to function here. What is Germany's loss will then be America's gain.

Counting Our Collegiate Pacifists

Stirred by the exciting news of pacifism in British universities, the *Brown Daily Herald*, of Brown University, has started a movement to poll American college undergraduates on their attitude toward participation in another war. Columbia University's *Spectator* is already taking a vote, and more than 145 colleges are invited by the Brown newspaper to initiate similar polls on their respective campuses. It is high time that such an undertaking was put through; we have had in recent times questionnaires on various aspects of international relations, but hitherto most of the balloting by students on a radical pacifist stand has centered in alert student Y. M. or Y. W. C. A. conferences and similar groups, and has all too seldom represented the student body taken at random or as a whole. We do not know how extensively the astonishingly radical returns from the British students will be duplicated here; while there have been up-thrusts of pacifism ever since the great historic Student Volunteer Convention at Des Moines in 1923, student rebellion against conventional social ideas has been tending of late toward economic radicalism which is not always, if usually, wrapped up in strong anti-war impulses. In any event, if the result is satisfying to pacifists, they will of course rejoice; while if the outcome is disappointing, they will realize that they must redouble their efforts and must better adapt their programs to the undergraduate mood and tempo.

The Murder Record for 1932

Dr. Frederick B. Hoffman, statistician of the Prudential Life Insurance Company, has again published in the *Spectator* his annual summary of the homicide record in 180 American cities. And once more it is necessary to call attention to the current fallacy that murder is more frequent among foreign-born Americans than among the native stock. The evidence is quite to the contrary. Indeed the 15 cities that head the list have only a small proportion of foreign-born: Memphis, 54.2 murders per 100,000 population; Lexington, Ky., 53.6; Jacksonville, Fla., 52.2; Little Rock, 44.8; Montgomery, 43.6; Charleston, S. C., 43.5; Savannah, 42.2; Birmingham, 40.8; Atlanta, 39.7; Augusta, 37.1; Miami, 35.9; Mobile, 35.8; Petersburg, Va., 34.4; Macon, 33.3; Dallas, 29.7. It would be instructive if we knew just how much of this is due to the readiness of white men to kill Negroes.

At the bottom of the scale, we find 22 cities with a clear record of no homicides in 1932: Altoona, Pa., Auburn, N. Y., Bethlehem, Pa., Chelsea, Mass., Con-

cord, N. H., Fresno, Calif., Grand Rapids, Mich., Haverhill, Mass., Holyoke, Mass., Lakewood, Ohio, Lowell, Mass., Madison, Wis., Massillon, Ohio, Medford, Mass., New Bedford, Mass., Newport, R. I., Orange, N. J., Pittsfield, Mass., Reading, Pa., Salem, Mass., Schenectady, N. Y., Somerville, Mass. And of these the following had a clean slate the preceding year as well: Auburn, Concord, Holyoke, Medford, New Bedford, Newport and Orange. It will be observed that many of these cities are noted for the high percentage of foreign-born citizens.

Certain other large cities were ranked in this order: Kansas City, 20.4; Cincinnati, 16.2; St. Louis, 14.3; Cleveland, 13.5; Chicago, 12.8; Denver, 10.2; Baltimore, 10.0; Detroit, 9.6; Los Angeles, 8.4; New York City, 8.0; Philadelphia, 7.8; San Francisco, 6.9; Seattle, 6.4; Minneapolis, 4.4; St. Paul, 3.6; Rochester, 3.6; Buffalo, 3.4; Milwaukee, 3.0.

And in the interest of American humility let the fact be recorded that the latest average for England and Wales was 0.5.

A Christian Revolutionist

In the death of Henry T. Hodgkin, on March 26, in Ireland, the world lost a rare spirit. England claims him by birth, but his activities, which extended over Europe, America and the Orient, made him, in spite of his modesty, a world figure. Some knew him as a missionary of unusually broad sympathies, impatient of denominational lines. Others knew him as a Quaker reinterpreting the adventurousness of the old-time Friends in a milieu of modern economic and international problems. Still others knew him through a dozen or more books, in which he illumined in simple language many social and religious questions. But he was most widely known as an active exponent of the dynamic principle of good-will in situations of bitterness and conflict.

When the War broke out in 1914, Henry Hodgkin was in England as Secretary of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, having returned after five years' service as a medical missionary at Chengtu, West China. It was characteristic of him that, feeling the conflict between Christian principles and the way of war, he was satisfied neither to make a compromise adjustment nor to seek merely a personal way out, but that he took the leadership in bringing together at Cambridge a group of others similarly concerned. From this meeting grew the Fellowship of Reconciliation, of which he was chairman for the next five years; a group which challenged not only the way of war but also the conflict and exploitation of the industrial system as well, its members dedicating themselves to methods of love and creative good-will in every relationship. Coming to America in 1915, he brought together a similar group to form the American branch

of the Fellowship. When the way was opened at the end of the War, he carried the same message to European groups which were brought together in the Movement Towards a Christian International, later to become the International F. O. R.

Clear-seeing and thoroughgoing, he did not hesitate to emphasize the revolutionary implications of the Christian pacifist position, and he gave it permanent form in one of his best known books, *The Christian Revolution*. China, too, felt his influence, when he served as one of the four secretaries of the National Christian Council from 1922 to 1929. Dr. Hodgkin's last work, as Director of Pendle Hill, a Quaker graduate school which he founded for social and religious study, completes the picture of a man who was always eager to organize and direct the wayward emotions and attitudes of people into lines of intelligent and ordered coöperation. Religion in action was the keynote of Hodgkin's life, and thousands of people with whom he worked throughout the world can testify to the contagious influence of one so motivated.

So Labor Matters!

A decision of no small importance to the labor struggle was handed down on March 29 by New York State's Public Service Commission. Ruling on a complaint entered by the National Committee on Power Utilities and Labor, which charged that the Brooklyn Edison Company was guilty of "arbitrary, unjust, unreasonable, and unlawful methods and practices," the Commission decided that it could properly exercise jurisdiction over questions affecting labor whenever labor policies could be shown to have affected the company's services or rates. Never before had the Commission handed down any statement of policy with regard to labor.

The ruling is a partial victory for the employees of the Edison Company, who have accused the concern for a long time of maintaining improper conditions of labor, of denying the right of labor to free expression of its grievances, of piling up profits in a depression period while at the same time firing 5,000 workers who could have been kept on for the performance of needed work, and a long list of flagrant misuses of monopolistic powers. Through the most commendable efforts of Francis Henson, Chester S. Williams, Eliot S. White, Jerome Count, and other radicals and liberals, the National Committee on Power Utilities and Labor has been filling a highly useful function in showing the huge power firm that it could not hope to rule unquestioned over the destinies of New York's millions. They have waged an unremitting campaign, using sound facts, dramatic propaganda, and, as events have indicated, a great deal of sound judgment. They are now in a far stronger position, and can proceed to hold the Commission responsible for fair hearings and definite action on the basis of ascertained facts.

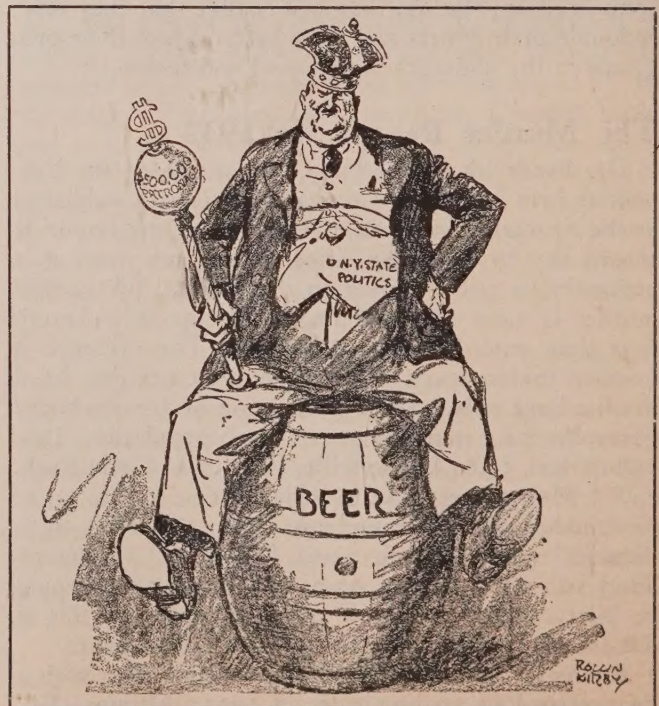
Doctor Holmes Begins To Laugh

In a notable article on "The Ignoble Surrender" in our issue of January 11, Dr. John Haynes Holmes said: "These next few years I confidently expect to be the most hilarious of my life! . . . There will be fun enough, if the Wets have their heedless way, to keep the sources of 'innocent merriment' flowing like the beer that will burst its barrel-hoops once Congress legalizes booze." And now it is reported from over Brooklyn way by neighbors of the prophet that loud and prolonged haw-haw-haw's are ringing out through the Doctor's windows.

Michigan is sprinting down the cinders toward repeal, and Congress has legalized beer. Albany is now the scene of the worst legislative deadlock in years. Governor Lehman hates prohibition like poison, and predicts that happy days will be here when his beer bill is adopted. With surpassing innocence he declares that the control of liquor "must at all costs be kept free from partisan political influences." This utterance sounds even more naïve when read in connection with the Governor's own description of the old liquor traffic in the unregenerate days when politics played at least a minor role in the whiskey business:

" . . . the liquor traffic, greedy to the extreme, had gradually permitted one vice after another, one excess after another, one scandal after another, to become attached to the business. The evils of the saloon, its influence upon local, State and national politics, the personal and official corruption which in many places attached to the liquor traffic—all of

"I Know A Gold Mine When I See One!"



Rollin Kirby in the New York World-Telegram

these things created such a revulsion of feeling throughout the nation that this un-American thing called prohibition came to be accepted by the American people as some refuge from those evils.

Yet this same traffic in debauchery and crime must at all costs be kept free from partisan political influence! Echoes of raucous peals from Doctor Holmes!

We rise to inquire if the oldest man among our readers can recall a more trusting commentary than this one? "If any town or city is dry, the bill I advocate provides that by an easy method of local option, beer can be barred from that community." By an easy method! Local option! In a land where township and county lines are rapidly being obliterated by processes of urbanization and rapid transit!

And from Harold G. Hoffman, New Jersey Commissioner of Motor Vehicles, comes these words of wisdom: "Let a parched country enjoy its beer, but it should bear in mind that it must not do so to the extent that it jeopardizes the free and safe use of its motor cars." Of course! And remember that it is even more desirable for the driver to exercise due caution after having tossed off that last glass of hard liquor!

The other day in the New York Senate occurred this colloquy:

Senator Wojtkowiak: Is the Senator against the bar?

Senator Fearon: I've been against them many times. (The galleries roared and Lieutenant Governor Bray had to rap several times to restore order.)

So laugh on, Doctor Holmes, laugh on and on.

Let Us Alone!

The business mind has been so thoroughly deflated during recent months that the plea for a moratorium on labor legislation made within the past few days by 22 financiers and industrialists loses much of its potency. That none are so blind as those who will not see is evidenced by the telegram to Governor Lehman of New York signed by these gentlemen:

We respectfully urge on the Governor and Legislature of New York that no laws be passed this year adding further burdens of any kind to industry. In particular we urge that no law be passed extending the cost of workmen's compensation; that no compulsory unemployment or health insurance law be passed. We believe a moratorium on all further regulatory social or labor legislation would be the best possible policy in the interest of the whole people.

Among the signatories are George W. Wickersham, former Attorney General of the United States; James H. Post, President of the National Sugar Company; J. T. Loree, General Manager of the Delaware and Hudson Railroad; Walter Drew, Counsel of the National Erectors Association; C. E. Denney, President of the Erie Railroad.

In this appeal we are listening to the voice of ortho-

dox individualism. The industrial history of the United States lays bare the record of manufacturers, distributors and bankers in demanding a free hand to formulate economic policies in their own interest. Practically every law for the protection of the workers now on the statute books was fought bitterly by employers. Regulations concerning working conditions, sanitation, length of the working day, workmen's compensation, the minimum wage, and social insurance have in turn been regarded with hostility.

This demand for a return to *laissez faire* comes at a moment when the increasing complexity and interdependence of modern society make imperative a drastic extension of public control, and at a time when the workers are being exploited to a scandalous degree. Attention should be called to the fact that some of the signatories are well known as religious leaders. We commend this illustration to persons who are opposed to economic coercion of the owning class and who put all their trust in the conversion of employers. It is much easier to change men's hearts and to inculcate in them a spirit of kindliness and even of generosity than it is to aid them in acquiring the perspective and imagination required to render justice in a complex industrial society. Economic and political resistance has always been required to curb the excesses of those who wield power, and the evidence seems conclusive that the victims of oppression will never secure justice until they are sufficiently organized to take it.

The Highlander Folk School

In Monteagle, Tennessee, a school to train Southern mountaineers for labor leadership in the new industrial life of the South has been organized under the leadership of two very able young men, Myles Horton and Don West. The two leaders both have sprung from the people whom they are now trying to lead through the mazes of the new industrialism and to prepare for a radically oriented labor policy. In the first year they have not only had a dozen young men and women in training but have initiated various extension classes to bring their work to the villages of the South. They have been in contact with many of the areas of industrial unrest and have offered their services to strikers in their efforts at organization.

The school has operated on an unbelievably low budget, and the plan of the directors is to make the school economy as self-sufficing as possible. Yet money is needed for the school. No worthier cause exists to claim the support of those who believe in labor education. The advisory committee of the school consists of George Counts, Sherwood Eddy, Norman Thomas, Alva Taylor and Reinhold Niebuhr. The treasurer is A. Albert MacLeod, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York City. The school needs books, household utensils and farming implements, as well as money. Will our readers help?

A Fiscal Tornado Hits the Schools

The public should know—it is as plain as ABC to the leaders in public education—that many of the proposed or already adopted “cuts” in school expenditures are not economies at all but just the reverse. To lop off the health and other social services of the schools at just the time when they are most needed; to stop the evening classes; to halt the adult education movement; to shorten the school term; to curtail library service; to squeeze the teaching-and-learning processes into inefficiency at the precise moment when the necessity of a trained citizenry is more tragically obvious than at any time in our history—this is financial hysteria; it wastes both human life and the taxpayers’ money. Our ship has sprung a leak, but the crew is locking up the materials with which it might be repaired! This all thoughtful educators understand. Some of the most experienced among them declare that the present disposition to tamper with our school laws threatens the future of the school system. The schools are in danger of becoming a mere appendage of politics; their future support threatens to be only what is left after political interests have been attended to.

No wonder that there is anxiety among the superintendents who have just held their meeting at Minneapolis. But do they realize how it has come about that they, the proper leaders, are at their present disadvantage? How account for the civic foolishness that is threatening the schools? The school boards, the city councils, and the legislatures are made up of former pupils of the public schools. What were these men taught in their youth that might help them towards political insight now? Did the schools offer them a vision of social health that could assist them to distinguish major values from minor ones? Were these future officials taught to think of social facts in terms of cause and effect? Have the schools, indeed, really busied themselves much with living problems of politics, office-holding, the functions of government, taxation, poverty-and-wealth, the conditions of social weal? Ask that veteran of the schools, William McAndrew, or the scores of men whose words he has assembled into a “litany” on behalf of the teaching of political citizenship in the schools. The acknowledged fact is that the primary function of the schools, which is to foster health in the political state, has been neglected. This neglect is now reacting upon the schools themselves through the political naïveté of boards, councils, and legislators.

It is true that the social studies are undergoing a wholesome revision, but the revision comes too late for the men who now control school laws and school appropriations. What is immediately necessary is to head off, if possible, a whole pack of ruinous “economies.” To assume that we can first repair or rebuild the economic structure and afterward attend to the

building of health and citizenship is sheer folly. The welfare of the rising generation should be the first charge upon any resources that we can lay our hands upon. To this end the people should rally at once behind the educators who are struggling to prevent a catastrophe worse than any that the depression has yet brought to us.

Clumsy Socialism

When capitalism feels itself to be very sick, it resorts to socialistic medicines. Every measure of relief sponsored by either the “late lamented” administration or the new Lochinvar who has come out of the East, has this quality. Government goes deeper and deeper into business; the state takes on more and more openly the character of administrator of an economic order, and—here’s a joker that fate has inserted—even the plausibility of these measures, to say nothing of their efficiency, depends upon the degree to which they transcend class interest. We are on the way towards the standpoint of a classless society.

What a theme for a more-than-Shakespearean comedy! The fascism that is fastening itself upon us intends, while bringing relief, to stave off socialism; yet nothing that avowed Socialists can do or say to make their doctrines impressive compares in influence with what the opponents of socialism are unwittingly doing on its behalf. Take the banking incident as an example. Since the third of March the whole country has turned to the government as the necessary protector of every humble depositor. The people have begun to realize that banking anywhere in the country is every man’s concern, and that the banking system must somehow become *ours*. For every citizen who a month ago thought tolerantly of making the government itself our banker, a thousand think so now.

But how clumsy, as well as belated, are these socialistic measures. They are not the expression of a reasoned social philosophy; they are temporary expedients, to be stopped when the aches and pains of the moment subside. Dealing, as they do, with symptoms instead of causes, they contain an element of quackery. This can be said without denying that capitalism is doing the best it can to get us out of the hole that it has gotten us into. Praise should not be withheld from President Roosevelt for taking the political cow by the horns. It is something to have a chief executive who dares to be merely honest in his dealings with veterans’ relief; it is refreshing to have a verbal thwack administered from the presidential chair to the financiers who have been “doing” us; it is positively exhilarating to see Democratic-Republican precedents smashed to bits. But disappointments are in store for those who think that at last the way of general prosperity has been found. The exploiters are not surrendering; they feel sick, but they are endeavoring to doctor themselves instead of calling a physician.



as Brailsford sees it

TO Hitler's credit we must set down the latest attempt to revive the disarmament conference. What the world would not do from good will, will it now do from fear? The Nazi triumph has sent a shiver of fear through most of the capitals of Europe. Paris is alarmed; London is nervous; Warsaw is ready to spring to arms. Everyone realises at last that if Geneva fails to bring about some sort of disarmament on a basis of equal rights, Hitler will tear up the Versailles Treaty and Germany will re-arm without the victors' permission. That would have happened under von Schleicher, perhaps even under Dr. Bruening, but Hitler will do it with a noise that all must hear. One of two consequences will follow, either of them alarming and unpleasant. If the victors could agree among themselves, they might enforce the Treaty by the physical coercion of Germany, and that would be, morally, war. Probably they could not agree. Italy would refuse, and Britain would hesitate, for English public opinion is today as isolationist as that of America. Failing common action, everyone would redouble his armaments, and in this new race it would soon be apparent that the defeated powers of the World War, with Italy as their ally, were rallying against the victors. If Austria were to unite with Germany, or if Poles and Nazis clashed in Danzig, the catastrophe might be upon us.

With this prospect before us, the British government has made a last attempt to extract some positive result from the disarmament conference. The effort is to be commended, though one is not impressed either by its disinterestedness or by its skill. It is an amalgam of French and British suggestions, but they are so edited that the maximum of sacrifice falls on the French, and the minimum upon the British. With an amusing naïveté Mr. MacDonald postpones any further disarmament at sea until another naval conference has met. While he leaves Britain supreme in the Old World on her chosen element, he abolishes the superiority which France possesses in the air. It is difficult to treat his proposal to prohibit aerial bombardment very seriously, since he retains the right to use this barbarous method of coercion within the British sphere of influence. Nor is his proposal to limit tanks to 16 tons at all impressive; the British army has only a single tank above that figure. For his prohibition of big mobile land guns there is more to be said.

Hitler's Aim

To German militarist ambitions Mr. MacDonald makes immense concessions, and yet even at the end of his transitional period of five years equality would hardly be in sight. The humiliating disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty disappear, to be replaced by whatever agreement may be reached at Geneva. Germany will be allowed an army of the same kind and size as her neighbors—a conscript militia, serving for eight months, and numbering 200,000 men. The equality here is, however, more apparent than real, for France will have in addition an equal number of colonial troops. Germany may now equip herself with tanks, but an air force of any kind is still denied to her, and at sea she will still be bound by all the Versailles fetters and prohibitions. It is doubtful, moreover, whether a militia is the kind of army she wants; the soldiers are now in love with the long-service professional Reichswehr.

MR. MACDONALD'S curiously arrogant and egotistical speech at Geneva did little to make his proposals acceptable. The French, not unreasonably, think them partial. Worse still, the vague undertaking to consult, should the Kellogg Pact be infringed, is far from giving them the assurances for coöperative defence which they demand. They are invited, as they see it, to permit German re-armament without any fresh guarantees for "security." Nor will they readily concede to Italy parity at sea and in the air. It would be rash to make confident predictions at this stage, but the chance that Mr. MacDonald will succeed where Mr. Hoover and Mr. Herriot failed is not, I think, bright. The chances are that this scheme will quietly fade away, and the conference with it. I see no great reason for regret. This plan is not disarmament; it is only a proposal to stereotype armaments, on a wholly illusory basis of equality, among the great powers. The reductions that it offers are negligible. Finally, it offers no prospect that future emergencies will find the powers better disposed to deal with the aggressor than they were when Japan vindicated the right of a great power to be a law to itself.

What then? If Geneva fails, must we face the flaming menace of European war? Has Hitler destroyed peace as well as democracy? If it were his purpose to do so, I question whether a scheme of stabilised armaments would stop him. Personally I am disposed to

think the present state of alarm a little excessive, though I have no firm belief that peace will be preserved. Everything turns upon one's reading of the central purpose of the Nazi movement. Is it primarily a revolt against the Treaty of Versailles? Is it aimed at France and the other victorious powers? Or is it firstly, chiefly and all the time a phase of the internal class war in Germany?

FOR my own part I answer this question without hesitation. Hitler meant from the start to do precisely what he has done. He will go on doing it, nor is there any reason to suppose that he will want to do anything very different. His purpose avowedly is to "exterminate" the Communists and Socialists, and to terrorise those liberal parties which coöperated with the latter. This he has done to his satisfaction, with bestial cruelty and very thoroughly. Their leaders are in prison or in hiding, and no one can guess how many have been beaten, tortured, or killed. To make this victory of violence secure, it remains to destroy the democratic constitution. Formally that will be done by a purged and terrorised Reichstag a few weeks hence: in fact it has been done already. The next step, always the central Nazi aim, is to make an end of the labor unions so that they shall never raise their heads again. That also is done. Their offices are closed, their leaders are in hospital or prison. In their place it will be necessary to create sham, tame,

subject unions under Nazi management. That done, the working class is crushed. The possibility of any effective class struggle is over. The middle class reigns supreme and arranges everything to suit its liking—everything from hours and wages to the censorship of the press and the daily use of the radio.

If this was Hitler's central purpose, why did he agitate over reparations and the humiliations of the Treaty? That was a means to an end. The surest way to destroy the Socialists and the Liberals was to attack them as degenerate, morally poisoned internationalists, who ruined Germany by yielding weakly to her foreign oppressors. Not the French, but these traitors at home were the real enemy. The end attained, the means can be quietly forgotten. Mussolini used precisely the same technique, and in milder forms it is everywhere the commonplace of the class struggle. Like Mussolini, Hitler will doubtless be obliged to make bellicose speeches from time to time. He must amuse the mob with drums and uniforms and the thunder of warlike phrases. He will certainly have to arm. He will try to maintain among Germans the common front of patriotism, the *union sacré* against the foreigners, since that is the surest way of preventing any attempt of the workers' movement to rise again from the bloodstained dust. But it is not inevitable that he should actually make war, even against the Poles. Even on that question, Europe, which has yielded to him and to the Junkers so much that she refused to his pacific predecessors, may meet him halfway. Mussolini, for all his super-nationalism, has conducted Italian policy with notable prudence and caution. Hitler, who has followed the fascist model in all else, may follow it here also.

H. N. Brailsford

Folkestone, England, March 24, 1933

War Rumours—Their Use



Dyson in the London Daily Herald

WAR: They may be only dummy shells, but they help to drown that other talk.

Armament Manufacturer's Prayer

OUR Father, who art in heaven,
A battle-cry be thy name.
Let dark fears come
And hate, till the drum
Turns earth into Death's kingdom.
Give men once more their daily lead;
And grant that this land's debts
For bomb and gun shall make
The unborn my great debtors.
Lord, lead us not
To disarmament's temptation:
Deliver us from such evil.
For mine is the profit
And the power
And the patriot's glory. Amen.

ALAN JENKINS

Gold from Steel

KIRBY PAGE

INEQUITABLE distribution of the proceeds of industry has long been recognized as a primary cause of the recurrent economic depressions which throughout our history have plunged multitudes of Americans into extreme destitution. Too much money has been paid to money in the form of interest and dividends, and too little money has been paid to the workers for services rendered. Impressive corroboration of this thesis is furnished by an examination of the financial record of the United States Steel Corporation. The recent issuance of the company's annual report for 1932 has prompted me to bring up to date an interpretation which I published in 1922. The figures which I am now presenting are taken from the annual reports of the corporation, and from a valuable tabulated history of U. S. Steel published in the *Wall Street Journal*, June 13, 1932.

From 1901, when the Corporation was founded, to the end of December, 1932, its total yield has been as follows:

Total Net earnings	\$4,569,615,357
Total Dividends Paid	1,747,695,262
Total Set Aside for Depreciation, Depletion, and Obsolescence	1,269,960,900
Total Expenditures for Ordinary Repairs	2,129,406,272
Total Expenditures for Maintenance, Depreci- ation and Depletion	3,369,518,461
Total Expended for New Construction	1,770,237,706
Total Payments for Wages and Salaries	8,884,758,057
Undivided Surplus Balance at End of 1932	349,759,864
Total Assets at End of 1932	2,158,732,222

Just what is the significance of the statement that the total net earnings have exceeded four and a half billion dollars? And what is the meaning of the figure of one billion seven hundred millions for dividends? The answers to these questions cannot be found in the company's reports, for the reason that the annual balance sheets are silent concerning *excessive overcapitalization*. But not so was Herbert Knox Smith, former United States Commissioner of Corporations:

In 1901 the fair market value of its tangible property was about \$700,000,000 slightly less than one-half of its capitalization. The figures show clearly that the entire issues of approximately \$508,000,000 of common stock of the Steel Corporation in 1901 had no physical property back of it; and also a considerable fraction, say from one-fifth to two-fifths, of the preferred stock was likewise unprotected by physical property.

In a volume entitled *United States Steel: A Corporation With a Soul*, which received the commendation of Judge Gary, Mr. Arundel Cotter admitted that the

common stock of the Corporation "had nothing behind it but blue sky," and that this statement "has never been denied and probably cannot be." Yet more than 927 million dollars have been paid as dividends upon this watered common stock which at the beginning had absolutely nothing behind it save expectations of profit.

NOT satisfied with this bonanza, the directors of the Corporation still further diluted its stock by issuing in 1927 a common stock dividend of 40 per cent. That is to say, if a stockholder owned 100 shares of common stock, he received as a special dividend an extra 40 shares. This combination of watered stock and stock dividends is an effective device for concealing the actual rates of return to investors. The books show that through 1926 a total of 128¼ per cent had been paid on common stock, and that from 1927 through 1932, 33¼ per cent was paid on the increased volume of common stock, or an equivalent of 46½ per cent on the former amount, *making a grand total of 174¾ per cent cash dividends on stock that was originally all water.*

In addition to the 927 millions in cash paid to owners of common stock and 821 millions to holders of preferred stock (7 per cent regularly, except one year at 5¾ per cent), 1,269 millions have been ploughed back into the business in the form of appropriations for depreciation, depletion and obsolescence, and another 1,770 millions expended for new construction. These four items total approximately five billion dollars, whereas the total property value of the Corporation at the beginning was 700 million dollars.

The response of the investing public to this flow of gold from steel is indicated by the high points reached by steel common at various periods: 55 in 1901, 91 in 1910, 136 in 1917, 160 in 1926, 261 in 1929.

Now let us see how the workers have fared. According to the company's figures, the average annual earnings of all employees in various years were as follows: \$717 in 1902, \$677 in 1904, \$801 in 1910, \$1,042 in 1916, \$2,173 in 1920, \$1,866 in 1929, \$1,831 in 1931. Two cuts in pay, in the latter part of 1931 and in May, 1932, reduced earnings by 25 per cent. In the annual report for 1932 we read that "the average earnings per employee per day were \$5.17." That sounds most reassuring—until further computations are made which were not presented by the Corporation. If we take its published figure of 158,032 as the average number of workers during the year, and the

THE WORLD TOMORROW

amount of \$133,912,809 as the total pay roll for the year, we find that the employees averaged 164 days of employment—and at the average pay of \$5.17 per day, the average earnings of all employees during 1932 were \$848, the lowest since 1912. If the objection is raised that the 1932 figure is abnormal, I will put into the record the averages for the 31 years since the figures were first published in 1902: *during 30 different years the average earnings were under \$2,000; 21 years under \$1,800; 17 years under \$1,300; 12 years under \$900; eight years under \$800; and one year under \$700.* And even during the 10 years when the average wage ranged from \$1,800 to \$2,173, a considerable proportion of the workers were grossly underpaid. The average included the highly paid salaried officers and skilled mechanics, which means that even when wages were at the peak, half of the workers or more hovered around the \$1,500 level or fell short of this inadequate income.

It may well be that the Corporation has paid as high wages as those offered by other concerns, or even slightly more than the going wage. But this is only to say that inequitable distribution is general throughout industry, for the evidence is indisputable that U. S. Steel could have given the workers a much larger share

of the product of the common endeavor. The last annual report furnishes a convincing illustration. The statement is made that, as a result of a general wage cut of 15 per cent, "the curtailment in pay rolls arising from reduction of rates from May 16 to the close of December amounted to approximately \$9,600,000." Think of it, a saving of nearly 10 millions—when the undivided surplus on hand at the end of that year, 1932, was more than 349 millions!

If the undivided surplus were separated equally into reserves, first, for dividends and other payments to money, and, second, for wages and unemployment benefits, approximately 175 million dollars would be available for these latter purposes. Moreover, the amounts set aside for depreciation, depletion and obsolescence are excessive. If this total had been cut in half, another 635 millions would have been available for the wage and unemployment fund, making a total of more than 800 millions.

To say that United States Steel, in extracting every available ounce of gold for owners and investors, has simply followed the general business practice, is to bring a damning indictment against capitalism and to present a primary reason why our whole economic system is now so perilously near collapse.

FINANCIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES STEEL CORPORATION

	<i>Total Net Earnings</i>	<i>Dividends Paid</i>	<i>Depreciation, Depletion and Obsolescence</i>	<i>Undivided Surplus Balance</i>	<i>Total Wages and Salaries</i>
1901	\$ 84,787,596	\$41,979,168	\$11,960,000	\$43,620,940	\$ 90,000,000
1902	133,308,764	56,052,868	27,814,000	77,874,598	120,528,343
1903	100,171,152	43,111,736	29,293,000	90,179,516	120,763,896
1904	73,176,522	25,219,677	18,207,000	60,772,731	99,778,276
1905	119,787,658	25,219,677	28,046,000	95,613,795	128,052,955
1906	156,624,273	35,385,727	35,565,000	132,056,656	147,765,540
1907	160,964,673	35,385,727	32,857,000	148,736,491	160,825,822
1908	91,847,710	35,385,727	22,350,000	105,079,477	120,510,829
1909	131,491,413	45,551,777	29,349,000	138,601,395	151,663,394
1910	141,054,754	50,634,802	30,224,103	157,173,780	174,955,130
1911	104,305,464	50,634,802	25,980,026	135,104,213	161,419,031
1912	108,174,672	50,634,802	31,099,455	137,296,442	189,351,602
1913	137,181,345	50,634,802	31,860,653	167,298,429	207,206,176
1914	71,663,614	40,468,752	25,143,207	134,826,445	162,379,907
1915	130,396,011	31,573,458	32,428,049	179,464,846	176,800,864
1916	333,574,178	69,696,146	39,547,613	381,860,915	263,385,502
1917	295,292,180	116,714,127	50,553,272	488,866,353	347,370,400
1918	187,135,679	96,382,027	40,718,824	460,596,154	452,663,524
1919	143,589,063	50,634,802	45,545,926	493,048,202	479,548,040
1920	176,686,898	50,634,802	46,684,364	552,107,628	581,556,925
1921	92,726,058	50,634,802	36,768,226	509,437,106	332,887,505
1922	101,529,310	50,634,802	42,688,509	497,945,611	322,678,130
1923	179,646,675	54,447,071	51,470,155	553,399,408	469,502,634
1924	153,114,812	60,800,852	48,892,837	537,017,560	442,458,577
1925	165,538,464	60,800,852	56,086,679	546,863,109	456,740,355
1926	199,058,869	60,800,852	64,220,911	577,729,662	467,409,446
1927	164,324,376	75,033,322	58,906,007	566,365,914	430,727,095
1928	193,304,828	75,033,322	67,237,303	446,982,425	413,699,720
1929	258,722,453	89,068,717	63,274,163	588,633,692	420,072,851
1930	152,116,865	85,585,474	58,550,120	471,782,759	391,271,366
1931	41,048,594	62,203,627	47,317,895	421,837,192	266,871,413
1932	*12,729,566	20,716,163	39,321,603	349,759,864	133,912,809
Totals	\$4,569,615,357	\$1,747,695,262	\$1,269,960,900		\$8,884,758,057

*Deficit.

Motives For A New Order

GEORGE A. COE

BUT you yourself are wearing a knitted tie!" This verbal bullet was fired by a defender of capitalism at an acquaintance who was arguing for economic reconstruction. They were conversing in the days when three-dollar neckties were more common than they are now. The implication of the remark was that desire for getting, having, and spending is so deeply rooted in human nature that a socialized economy is impossible. Socialists, it was assumed, deceive themselves: they haven't a drive sufficient for their program. Even if they could bring about a shift of ownership, the old struggle between the "haves" and the "have-nots" would merely take a new form. It's as old as man, and it will continue to the end of humanity's career upon earth. The real ruler of the economic order is and always will be the economic motive, never humanitarian idealism. So runs much capitalistic thought.

In its own way, socialist thought commonly admits that both parties to the struggle are moved by desire to possess goods; further, the economic motive is regarded as the decisive factor in the whole organization of society. Support for this claim is found in the new history. When modern historians once turned the full light of research upon the relation of economic interests to political events and to culture generally, the stories of the various nations and civilizations had to be re-written—not least, the history of the United States.

What, then, is economic motivation? Does it consist in a single, inborn drive, the same in all men? And is the struggle for industrial democracy as opposed to privilege nothing but the collision that occurs when this inborn drive, the same in you and me, impels both of us to grab for goods that only one of us can have? An impression that socialism is merely an economic struggle in this sense of the word leads some persons to hold aloof even though they desire a socialized economy. They think that the economic drive needs to be moderated, tamed, controlled for the sake of a larger life. They fear a possible regimentation of men in the interest of merely material well-being. Thus it comes to pass that many an idealist who is disgusted with capitalism because of its practical materialism is nevertheless an ally of capitalism against the only coherent plan thus far devised for organizing society upon a different basis. In some instances this attitude, unquestionably, is a defense mechanism in the interest of economic privilege, but to explain it entirely in this way would be unrealistic as well as ungracious.

THE truth is, rather, that many of these hesitating idealists labor under a confusion of thought that is shared by many a capitalist and many a socialist also. For there is no such simple, inborn economic drive as they assume to exist; "economic motive" is used in two senses without clear discrimination, and the motive-force of socialism is not the same as that of capitalism. When socialism appeals for our support, it stakes its whole case, in fact, upon the action of a different motive from that which capitalism avows as its own, and upon the possibility of making this non-capitalistic motive permanently dominant in human conduct upon the largest scale. If any Socialists deny this, they misunderstand themselves and play into the hands of the enemy.

About 40 years ago, several hundred Berlin Socialists had assembled to celebrate the recent passage of the first eight-hour law. An American looker-on asked a burly mechanic who sat on the opposite side of one of the tables, "Is it true that you Socialists want to do away with religion?" With some vehemence the burly mechanic countered, "Who told you that?" and added, "As I see it, it's this way: If a fellow workman gets his finger cut, I feel the pain." This was his way of saying that socialist motivation has something in common with religion. Now, this feeling of the other fellow's pain—his hunger, say—is not included in the theory of "business" at all. If a cut finger, or the condition of a workman's cupboard, is taken into account *as a business fact*, the reason is not the other fellow's state but the possible effect of a cut finger or of hunger upon a profit-and-loss account. The Socialist, on the other hand, whether or not he puts his attitude into correct psychological terms, includes others' pains and pleasures in his own so-called economic motivation.

There is, I say, no such simple, inborn economic drive as capitalism's theory of itself calls for. There was a time, it is true, when some psychologists talked about a supposed acquisitive instinct, just as they talked also about a social instinct. Human conduct was divided into broad classes of acts, and each class was explained by a corresponding instinct. But this procedure no longer has scientific standing. Today when we want to know what is inborn, we observe young children's reactions in simple situations. Now, in the spontaneous activities of the young child the item that comes nearest to being economic is the appropriation of food. But this cannot be identified with the economic motivation that capitalism ascribes to itself. For, not only are feeding and food-getting

bounded by a limited appetite and at most by foreseen need for food, but the characteristic activities involved exhibit an unmistakable primitive mutuality. Nothing is more natural to man than the sharing of food. Sharing begins in the nourishment of the unborn child; it proceeds in the suckling of the infant; it consolidates itself in communal food-getting by clan or tribe; it goes forward in the family meal; it enlarges itself in the sacred guest-and-host relationship and in the succor of the needy; it glories itself in festivals the world around; in religion after religion the communion of worshippers with divinity takes place in and through a common meal, an eating together. Into this food-sharing, this primitive and world-wide economic mutuality, small children enter with the utmost ease and enjoyment—there is no native obstacle thereto.

THE native drive that is more distinctly economic than any other, then, is not the same as the introverted getting-as-much-as-possible-for-myself that capitalism assumes to be a part of human nature. Indeed, the question now arises whether capitalist conduct is as natural as it takes itself to be. Perhaps it is not a spontaneous, primordial, and unlearned type of reaction, but secondary, learned rather than inborn, and largely artificial rather than strictly natural. Perhaps the whole case for capitalism depends upon an introversion that defends itself by means of an abstraction that is mistaken for a fact. If so, the motivation for a different economic order may be near at hand; it may conceivably exist in undeveloped form in the conduct of capitalists themselves; and the main condition of industrial democracy may be the releasing of suppressed capacities—in other words, the realization by men of what they really want. The evidence for some such conclusion is not far to seek.

The quasi-chemical method of analysing motives into so many atoms of this and so many of that is artificial and misleading. No life is a composite of a certain percentage of appetite for food, another percentage of sex desire, another for dominance, another for companionship, and so on. The organism acts as a unit. Even when hunger, lust or fear appears to take exclusive possession of the mind, there is no complete letting go of other interests. For, in such impulsive conduct, as well as in steadier moments, there are historic modes, class modes and individual habits. In conduct that is deliberative, in which inhibition plays a larger part, the actor definitely strives to act as an integer.

It is simply not true, then, that the capitalist, even when he acts most capitalistically, pursues a single, narrow-gauge interest. In one and the same act several of the following phases of his mental dynamics always can be detected: family affection, family pride, and anxiety concerning security and social standing;

desire for recognition in the business world; the nursing of self-conceit; loyalty to a partner; pugnacity towards a rival; enjoyment of power or of being a cause; the exhilaration of a game; the thrill of originality; pride of workmanship; the glow of self-identification with an institution, enterprise, or cause; the taking of a customer's interest as one's own; the feeling of responsibility for the welfare of employees; devotion to country. In this complex there is an implication, however obscure, of the value of oneself, of the members of one's family, and of sundry other persons. There is endeavor to be a man among men. There is, then, in the motivation of the capitalist economy a social factor of which not the faintest shadow appears in the ledger of any business concern.

THE man-among-men factor in economic motivation, which capitalism partly smothers and wholly denies, comes into the foreground when we struggle for industrial democracy. This is the decisive difference. The Socialist has his eyes upon the relation of property and production to all the human beings concerned. For him the "economic" includes the value that does not appear in the profit-and-loss account, the value of persons themselves. The possibility of industrial democracy depends upon the depth of this value-experience, and upon the number of persons with whom it goes deep.

The rudiments of this experience are provided for in the universal ways of men—in the response of all mankind to helpless infancy, the regard of parents for offspring, all that is popularly called the gregarious instinct, sensitiveness to approval and disapproval, and the sympathy that makes a man put himself in the other fellow's place. Here are the rough building stones, so to say. They never are entirely absent—a deal of charity is sprinkled through even the brutalities of capitalism—yet they do not automatically put themselves together into social structure. They never will be integrated into a socialized economy until, over a considerable period of time, many persons, taking note of the actual conditions of men, and women, and children under capitalism, feel overwhelmingly the contrast between the actual and the possible fortune of human beings in this world. This surge of feeling must then be organized into a systematized force.

OUR problem now takes the following form: Who is deeply interested in the wide extension of the human values that depend upon economic goods; what are the chances that this interest will deepen and widen; and what can organize and sustain it? The most certain part of the answer is that those who most smart under the capitalist order—wage-workers and farmers who feel for themselves, their children, and their fellows in distress—plus idealists whose im-

agination takes in this smart, already have begun to feel the deep injustices that capitalism inflicts upon humanity. The basic reliance of those who desire industrial democracy must be an outraged sense of justice. For, in the nature of the case, we could not be stirred to action that is contrary to our habits except through the perception of a contrast that arouses feeling. In this instance we have to break life-time habits that have the support of public opinion. The issue, then, must be sharpened until it penetrates to the core of consciousness, and feeling for unrealized but possible justice must become a fire in our bones. The eyes of hitherto unawakened multitudes are, in fact, beginning to focus upon the right point, as, for instance, upon the mountainous injustices of an economic order that *can* feed all the children but *won't*. If we can increase indefinitely the number of persons who habitually and realistically face facts like this, we shall see the heat rising towards the steam-pressure point. When it reaches that point, things will move.

Timid idealists join with materialists of the present order in objecting, "Steam-pressure? That means explosion! Let us keep the heat below 212 degrees." But their policy really amounts to sitting on the safety-valve. For, what at present is discontent will become fury if the present management of goods continues. Fury, of course, would not respect persons as such; rather, it would subordinate the personal to the mechanical as truly as capitalism does. What we require is steam-pressure in our feeling against injustice and for justice. Here implacability is essential; nothing less will do. For it is necessary to take control of material resources in the interest of persons who need them for health, growth, education and happiness. If we are implacably just, we shall choose as our method for effecting this shift of control the one that gives greatest promise of releasing the possessors of wealth from the divided self that now afflicts them. It is not just to let their personalities shrivel. Industrial democracy will work for them as truly as for the exploited masses. The surgery will hurt, but it will heal.

BUT a harder part of our question remains. How can such revolutionary ardor produce a foresighted, complex social organization? Can we look for permanent heat in the basic motive of regard for human beings as such? Will the necessity of head-work be appreciated by the masses? Will democracy utilize the expert, and will the expert himself be democratic?


All these questions turn upon the possibility of keeping the people conscious of the actual conditions of men, women, and children—where they are and where they are not well fed, healthy, and happy, and why this is so. Now, such facts could be kept in the mental foreground of an entire populace by means of a reconstructed system of education. The facts themselves are interesting, even exciting, for persons of all ages

from the kindergarten up. There can be no doubt that ardor for justice would reconstruct education, making the problems of human welfare the permanent center of instruction and character.

By the same sign, the spirit of implacable justice will furnish the most favorable atmosphere for the scientific handling of social needs. There is a rarely recognized difference between the spirit of merciful kindness and the spirit of justice. Both are moved by distress, but not to the same sort of mental activity. Merciful kindness hastens to assuage the pain that it witnesses, and then takes its own inner relief as a sign that duty is done; justice attends to the pain, but it also fixes a burning eye upon the why of it. That is, justice, like science, is concerned with the relatedness of objects; its very breath is concern for causal relations within the weal and the woe of human beings. Hence a democratized industrial order will demand not only technicians in the mechanical sphere but also experts in the social and political sphere.

WHAT is our guarantee, finally, that these expert leaders will themselves remain democratic after they once have tasted power? The doubt that lurks in this question grows out of our experience with government officials in a capitalist régime. Our present officeholders have the same divided self that afflicts the captain of industry; they are endeavoring to serve two masters, self and class on the one hand, and on the other hand the people who elect them. Therefore, no ordinary incumbent of an influential office makes complete public disclosure of his official conduct, and the people tolerate evasiveness and even exploitation of themselves because they take the capitalistic type of motivation for granted. This debasement of political morality has gone so far that an organ of religious life and thought can seriously advocate leaving office-seeking and office-holding to partisans who are "in it for what they can get out of it," while patriotic citizens combine, not to clean the Augean stable, but to make as good bargains as they can from time to time with politicians who deliberately profit from its filth!

This is an exact picture of the political order within a capitalist régime—the people obliged to dicker, on behalf of public decency, with officers whom their own votes have put into power. To assume that this must be—that it is of the eternal nature of politics—is to indulge in illusory rationalization upon behalf of a self-disintegrating capitalism. Not only would office-holding, under industrial democracy, involve accountability where now there is irresponsibility, but the experience of the office-holder would bring a new kind of thrill, even, the thrill of self-enlargement. Our leaders, once emancipated from capitalistic assumptions, will serve the cause of justice out of the sheer happiness that such service brings!



Not in the

German Refugees

Removal of restrictions which now prevent admission of political refugees from Germany and other countries was urged upon Secretary of Labor Perkins on March 21 in view of the present exodus from Germany, in a letter signed by officers of the American Civil Liberties Union. The German quota being by no means full, they declared, many of these could come to the United States if recent requirements that immigrants must have "substantial resources" were lifted. Signers of the appeal were: Dr. Harry F. Ward, chairman of the Civil Liberties Union; Roger N. Baldwin, director; and Arthur Garfield Hays, general counsel. "Friends or relatives here could usually offer satisfactory guarantees," they told Miss Perkins, "that political refugees would not become public charges nor compete with Americans for jobs."

Militarism and Conservatism

Another link in the chain that binds the army and conservative religion was forged together a few days ago when the Reverend Dr. Roeliff H. Brooks, rector of rich St. Thomas Protestant Episcopal Church on Fifth Avenue in New York City, was commissioned as a chaplain in the New York National Guard with the rank of Major.

These Banks Still Closed

More than 20 per cent of the Federal Reserve member banks, typically the larger institutions, had failed to open throughout the country by March 24, according to a survey reported by the New York Times. Using every device of the English language to soften the blow, the Times admits that in the New York district 150 banks have failed to open, or some 18 per cent. However, in the Chicago district 46 per cent of the banks still existing on March 1 had failed to reopen by March 24. This is all the more astounding in view of the fact that a large proportion of the banks in that district had already closed before the moratorium. In the city of Chicago, 75 per cent of the banks were gone by last fall and the proportion throughout the reserve district, which comprises Iowa, Wisconsin, Indiana and Michigan, as well as parts of Illinois, was very large. The total shows that 1,288 Federal Reserve member banks had failed to reopen of the 5,945 still in existence on March 1.

Socialist Party Aids Negroes

The national executive committee of the Socialist Party in a two-day conference here passed a resolution March 12 urging an increase in the appropriation for investigation of labor conditions in the Mississippi levee camps from \$1,000 to \$10,000. The resolution calls the exploitation of Negro labor on the levees "one of the outstanding scandals of the present time." Clarence O. Senior, executive secretary of the party, has sent a copy of the resolution to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to Senators Townsend and Wagner and to Vice President Garner.

Navy Rule

Effort to return the Virgin Islands to control by naval officers was assailed by the American Civil Liberties Union in a letter delivered to President Roosevelt on March 28. Control of the Islands properly ought to be retained in the Department of the Interior, the Union argued, and the Administration was urged to back a bill for a permanent form of civil government there. "This organization," said the Union's appeal, "has for many years been concerned with issues arising in the Virgin Islands affecting the rights of natives. We oppose the control of the Islands by the Navy Department because those rights under that administration were violated. The transfer of control to the Interior Department with a civilian governor has greatly improved conditions. We understand now that an effort is being made to return the Islands to control by naval officers. We regard it as a blunder in colonial policy which should be avoided at all costs."

Russian Monarchists for Hoover

Russian monarchists in the United States, organized in the Brotherhood of Russian Truth to promote activities against the Soviet Union, are now shown to have issued a campaign manifesto in New York, Nov. 1 last, demanding that Russian emigres support Hoover against Roosevelt. Under the heading "Stupidity Or Treachery," there was published in large type in the *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, on that date, a full-page display article by Anastase A. Vonsiatsky, representative in the United States of the Brotherhood's "Fund for Liberation of Russia in Memory of the Martyred Czar Nicholas II." This Brotherhood in its official publication announced that the president of its Revisional Committee is the Metropolitan Anthony, "who gives complete absolution of their sins to all those who sacrifice their lives in the struggle against Bolshevism."

Moslems Reject British Plan

The Moslem Conference executive board on March 26 adopted a resolution expressing profound dissatisfaction with the proposed plan for the new government of India, and urging a drastic increase in the degree of legislative autonomy.

Maryland and Job-Insurance

By a vote of 72 to 27 the lower house of the Maryland legislature has adopted a compulsory unemployment insurance bill. The Senate has still to take action. Wisconsin is the only state thus far to adopt such a law. Adoption of the measure in the lower branch followed a speech by Miss Levinia Engle, who denounced the Bethlehem Steel Company for lobbying against the bill after letting 1,200 of its workers go to the breadline in Maryland. Under the pending bill the company would have to contribute 3/10 of one per cent of its payroll to the insurance fund.

In a Single State

About 1,250,000 individuals in New York State received home and work relief in February, at a cost of nearly 11 million dollars, reports Harry L. Hopkins, chairman of the State Temporary Emergency Relief Administration.

Women Wage Earners

According to German estimates of world figures, published recently by the Labor and Socialist International, out of the total population of women in the various countries listed below, these percentages are wage earners:

Germany	35.6	Lithuania	67.2
Spain	9.4	Russia	53.2
Greece	13.6	Latvia	53.0
U. S. A.	17.8	Estonia	48.9
Netherlands	18.3	Poland	45.1
Denmark	24.8	France	37.5
England	25.5		

Support for Anti-Eviction Bill

The Socialist and Labor Conference on Unemployment, representing 500,000 Socialists and trade unionists throughout the city, has endorsed the jobless anti-eviction bill of the Bronx Tenants Emergency League. The main provisions of the bill are: (1) Extension of the present five-day stay in the dispossessing of unemployed tenants to six months; (2) proof by the landlord before an eviction can take place that he has a tenant for the apartment in question and that there are no vacancies of similar apartments in the house; (3) city and state appropriations of \$20,000,000 each to pay the rent of unemployed tenants who are in danger of eviction.

Headlines

Pacifism at Northwestern

By a vote of 93 to 23, students and faculty members in attendance at a meeting of the League for Industrial Democracy at Northwestern University voted that under no circumstances would they bear arms in international war in defense of the constitution.

10 Hours a Day, \$2.85 a Week

Girls employed by the Twin City Textile Mills, Inc., to sort waste cloths, rags and discarded cotton and wool materials, work 10 hours a day. For every 100 pounds they sort they get 40 cents. One woman got \$2.85 for her first week's work and the next week received \$7.05. Four weeks later she was earning \$3.23. Once a week the girls have to spend half a day cleaning up the rest rooms and lavatory, without pay, the *Minnesota Union Advocate* charges. They must clean up the work room on their own time.

Jugoslavia Votes Open Ballot

The hand-picked "parliament" of Jugoslavia has recently passed a measure which provides for the use of an open ballot instead of a secret ballot at elections. Furthermore, unless a party obtains a minimum of 50,000 votes (recent elections have been conducted under intimidation and various devices to reduce the size of minority groups) it is not entitled to any seats; the party obtaining the highest number of votes will receive a minimum of three-fifths of all the places in parliament. Open ballots will be used in local elections also, where the largest party will receive two-thirds of all places. Exceptions will exist in a few towns where local ordinances providing for democratic methods will still prevail.

R. R. Workers Vote Strike

Employees of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad have voted to strike against a 20 per cent cut instituted by the road's receiver. The receiver had also announced his intention of scrapping working rules, which would reduce earnings 60 per cent more in many instances. About 3,500 workers are involved. The reason for the receivership is a mystery, since until the time of the receivership the road paid dividends regularly. It is owned by the Southern Railroad and has been one of the most profitable lines in the South. Observers point out that in a restaurant strike in New York attorneys claimed that since the restaurants in question were in receivership, they were charges of the courts and any interference with their operation—such as a strike—is contempt of court. Under such an interpretation any striker could be sent to jail for contempt.

Girls Carrying Guns

Police Commissioner Mulrooney, of New York City, in an address on March 21, declared: "Perhaps you don't know that girls of tender years go out with groups of young men bent on robbery, and in many cases hold the gun while their associates are conducting the raid. It's astonishing how many complaints we have of girls possessing revolvers. . . . These runaways were not bad girls, they were just dissatisfied—dissatisfied with their homes, their places of employment, their whole environment. They were not bad, they were merely out of step; they needed aid, direction and encouragement."

Bans Foreclosures

Foreclosures were banned indefinitely by Governor William Langer in a proclamation which allows foreclosure only if the owner consents in writing to such a sale. The order modified a moratorium on foreclosures and debts declared March 4 at the beginning of the bank holiday. The state attorney-general interpreted the order as allowing mortgage foreclosures on homes and farms occupied by tenants. Observers commented that in the mortgage foreclosure bans issued by various governors, the state executives had made their predictions of when they expect prosperity to return. This moratorium has no time limit.

Building Slumps

How construction has slumped throughout the nation is shown in figures made public by the U. S. Department of Commerce. For the week of March 11 and corresponding weeks in previous years, the daily average of building contracts is:

1929	17,753,000
1930	14,852,000
1931	15,558,000
1932	3,982,000
1933	1,897,000

Private Relief Disappearing

Public funds furnished 89 per cent of the total relief given the destitute in 124 cities of 50,000 or more population, through 994 agencies, in January, the Children's Bureau reports show. In December the public share was 88 per cent, and in January of last year it was only 62 per cent of the total relief funds. The total of \$32,638,321 expended by the reporting agencies in January 1933 is 38 per cent more than the total expended in January 1932. If last year's trends prevail this year, March expenditures will reach an all-time high mark. Sixteen per cent more meals and lodgings were given homeless transients this January than was the case a year ago.

Forty-six Point Three

The industrial population of the United States is now receiving only 33.4 per cent as many dollars in wage income as in 1929, reports the National Industrial Conference Board, while real wages, or purchasing power of wages, stand at 46.3 per cent of the figure for 1929.

Poetry Contest for Children

The James Weldon Johnson Literary Guild announces its second annual, nationwide poetry contest with fifty dollars offered in cash awards to stimulate interest and to encourage writing of poetry among Negro children. The contest opened March 1, and closes June 30. All persons under 18 years of age may enter the contest. In submitting manuscripts include, name, address, age, school, grade. Poems must be original, heretofore not published. The Guild reserves all rights to material submitted. Address all manuscripts to Miss Roberta Bosley, 488 St. Nicholas Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Demand Electric Rate Cut

In behalf of domestic and commercial users of electricity, the Utility Consumers and Investors League of Illinois has declared its opposition to further reduction in Commonwealth Edison Co. rates for industrial users unless all other classes of consumers also get relief from exorbitant charges. Industrial users enjoy a rate as low as 38 mills per kilowatt hour, a fraction of what other consumers pay. Professor Paul H. Douglas, University of Chicago economist and president of the League, has written B. R. Lindheimer, chairman of the Illinois Commerce Commission, saying, "Any reduction in the electric company's revenue from industrial customers will be used to bolster its stand in refusing to make any concessions to smaller users."



From Kladderadatsch (Berlin)

Geneva Dove: "Do they expect me to hatch out Peace on a nest like this?"

Prophets and Social Reconstruction

E. G. HOMRIGHAUSEN

TO speak of the prophetic message and social reconstruction is to link two themes having seemingly little in common. For the prophet is concerned with absolute and ultimate goals of life, while the social reconstructor limits himself to the relative and attainable goals growing out of matter-of-fact current situations. Social reconstruction has to do with plans for rebuilding, with technical matters. It deals with political parties, legislation, the merits of communism and fascism and democracy, the ways and means for effecting changes in the social order. It deals with constitutions and economic planning and political blueprints. The prophet has never been interested in these things *per se*. In fact, one may read the messages of the Old Testament prophets and though stirred by the white heat of their righteous indignation at social maladjustments, he will get no idea of how to run a government or to distribute wealth properly, nor will he learn the respective merits of democracy and autocracy or what is the technique best adapted to man's social existence.

There is no indication that Jesus was specifically concerned with Herod or Pilate or with the Roman question as such. Jesus made no attempt to divide an inheritance when asked to do so by one of two brothers involved. He made no specific official pronouncement about slavery, although the land was full of the evil. He wrote no constitution for Utopia, gave no legislative ethic which would be good for all times. He made no attempt to rally a group of indignant citizens to set John free. Greatest of the prophets, yes; but a social reconstructor? Hardly. This distinction brings us to one of the burning problems of the day—a problem that must be faced and understood before the Christian forces can hope to strive more effectively for any real social gains. It is the question concerning the nature of the Kingdom of God.

The prophet's picture of the Kingdom is so lofty that it is beyond historical possibility. Yet he holds to its sure coming through an inner conviction of faith that cannot be accounted for on rational grounds. It is a reckless and irrational hope of which he is more certain than he is of himself. The Kingdom is so ideal that it can scarcely be portrayed except in the language of poetry and art and parable. It is "like" the things which happen on earth. He sees by a flash of God-given insight, coming not by "flesh and blood," the very ultimate world of God, in which there is no strife, no class distinctions, none of the relativities of history. He sees the absolute end, the Kingdom of God.

It is for this reason that the prophet is such an enigma, such a fool, so impractical. He offers no specific solution to the world's problems. But he is critical of all that is; he sees the reality that ought to be. He attacks the present as he beckons towards the future. He flashes the searchlight of his pure vision upon the state of things and shows up their imperfections with brutal and courageous frankness. He disturbs. He ridicules with holy humor the foibles and the divisive acts of men. He probes into the reality of things. He reveals motives often cloaked under the guise of respectability. He strikes at the citadel of man's personality. He sees from God's point of view. He reveals the crisis that exists between God and man.

BUT of what value is the prophet? What can he do to help us in the present situation? He keeps us from settling down in our mediocrity. He will not let us sleep the sleep of social conservatism. He will not let us rely contentedly upon relative schemes which we have wrongly transcendentalized into absolutes. He builds fires under men of evil spirit and unsocial egotism. He throws bombs in the quiet conferences of leaders. He warns, he entreats. He interprets the matter-of-fact situations in the light of the ongoing will of the Eternal. He will not let men forget *the* truth about themselves and their world. He interprets to men their deepest selves. He shows us that we belong to each other in an organic entity, as members of the race, and he shows us the collective effects of a false independence of living. He tells us that all things are God's, and because they are, no man has a right to hoard His property for personal benefit. (There is ecclesiastical hoarding of divine property too!)

The prophet holds before our eyes the fact that the reality of the Kingdom is beyond human creation and construction. He sets it in the background of God's sovereign creativity. Before the Kingdom can come, we must get ready for it, we must clear the wilderness. And he shows us, to make us humble and keep us from usurping prerogatives that belong solely to God, that all our social reconstruction in this world is a matter of change and relative achievement. The prophet knows human nature too well to suppose that a time will automatically come when men will have built the Kingdom by their own efforts, and that even should a possible world of justice emerge, such a world would not be the absolute Kingdom! He shows us, without

any sarcastic ridicule upon our sincere efforts, that every human social order will be based upon some use of coercion and force, that it will always be set within the limits of a time-order and that before the real Kingdom can come there must come a sort of fundamental structural change in the nature of the world and of man. But the prophet knows that there are elements of the real Kingdom even now in the world, working themselves out indirectly and mysteriously from the lives of those who have caught the lofty message.

THEREFORE it is not fair to say that the religion of the prophet is merely other-worldly, although it is largely that, nor that it is an "opiate" of the people. Nor should we disregard his message because it has to do with the irrelevant (?) ultimate, nor taking the materialistic view, say that religion, in true Comtean sense, is an anachronism and that it is now absorbed in sociology.

Rather the prophetic message should be the real foundation and under-girding sanction of individual life. It qualifies the bitter struggles of group versus group. It is the constant leaven at work within the lump which, so to speak, never becomes the lump itself. For if it becomes the lump, it becomes a dogmatic transcendentalizing of some relativity again and resolves itself in a materialistic fetish of some sort. It is the Kingdom of God within the kingdoms of this world which causes volcanoes in the social order and earthquakes in the economic order, and which makes the old suns and stars, which we thought so secure in our heavens, to fall in time.

HOW can this prophetic message work itself out in the social order? In a real sense it cannot. Yet it provides the dynamic which can work with the business of government and other social agencies. First of all, the prophetic message can disabuse the minds of men of the idea that there are any such things as unchangeable customs or parties or platforms. Then, it tells us that to be a Christian is not to sit down in ascetic contemplation looking into heaven for the coming of the Kingdom, but to realize that the Kingdom is *here*, even though it is not to be identified with human systems and orders. More, that every Christian must live out his life in accordance with the peculiar age and customs in which he finds himself. Such a Christian does not withdraw from the world nor promote isolated and impossible panaceas. He participates in the world's affairs and renders to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, a task which is not compromise.

The Christian of this type will say that there is no *one* and *only* method by which one can be a Christian in the world. He knows that he must not attempt to attain a social goal for the present that would re-

quire for its realization a world of Christians of the calibre of St. Paul. And he knows that a Christian does not lose his Christianity when he uses worldly ways and methods to gain worth-while relative goals for social justice, if his heart is in love with the Kingdom. This may sound like Jesuitical casuistry, but it is what all of us are called upon to do every day. Every time we handle money we are using "worldly" materials that are not clean.

This prophetic message has much to say about sacrifice, the "suffering servant," about identifying the individual with the race. The final and best possible method of social melioration is that of voluntary sacrifice, whereby one who is rich endures poverty that through his poverty others might be enriched. Bearing the stripes due others that theirs might be lessened is still the greatest strategy to overcome the citadel of evil. It goes beyond external coercion to internal transformation. The prophetic message provides the leaven of a powerful "remnant" of those who possess their souls in desperate faith and patience. The prophetic message is one of radical hope. In the words of Mazzini, who suffered much from doubt and despair, as do all those who see farthest and purest, those who possess the prophetic spirit go through martyrdom to peace; they accept the common and hard duty and suffer without rebellion, believing that faith is grounded not on an illusion but upon the deepest source of life.

Thus the prophetic message is the tone and tenor of other-worldly reality which tempers the Christian in his work among his fellows. He may sometimes have to make the supreme sacrifice of life for the attainment of some goal. But we should keep in mind that that does not entitle him to sainthood, and it does not follow that he has done the *only* Christian thing, nor that his martyrdom was more like the death of Jesus—which was a death quite different from the last stand of a hero!

We need both the prophetic message to buoy up the individual soul, to hold before us the ultimate, and the activity in the work of social reconstruction that is immediate and that, as long as men are men, will be subject to realignment and to the use of methods we do not necessarily relish.

A Request

We should be grateful for the return of any extra copies our readers may have of our issues of January 4th, 11th, 18th or 25th of this year.

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The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.

Frenzied Finance

Upton Sinclair Presents William Fox. By Upton Sinclair. Published by Upton Sinclair. Los Angeles (West Branch), California. \$3.00.

THE laws against slander now on the statute books give added interest and significance to this book. If its damning indictment were not valid, Mr. Fox and Mr. Sinclair would now be languishing behind cold steel. Scores of times the charge is so specific and so damaging to the reputation of a man in high place that the question automatically flashes into the mind of the reader: Will he take that lying down? Let it be remembered that this is not a volume of fiction, but an authentic and detailed disclosure of the inner operation of vast financial institutions.

Before we present specimens of current financial practices, let us pause for a moment before the portrait of Mr. Fox himself left hanging in the mind of the reader. Sympathy at once flows toward him upon learning that he has been defrauded to such an extent that his erstwhile huge fortune has dwindled to a measly twenty million dollars—although the reader's grief is somewhat assuaged by Upton Sinclair's hopeful prophecy that certain valuable patents still in his possession may again make a rich man out of Mr. Fox.

Born of Jewish parents in Hungary, William Fox entered the American moving picture business in 1904, at the age of 26, with a capital of \$1,600. By 1929 he controlled upward of 400 million dollars and was a dominant power in this major industry. Although he did not own more than 10 per cent of the stock of these various corporations, he exercised autocratic control. Listen to his own confession—or boast: "There were fourteen annual meetings of the Fox Film Corporation, and there was present at each of these fourteen meetings, other than the officials of the company, one lone stockholder. He was a doctor, and lived in Newark, N. J. He considered himself, and so did I, as the mascot stockholder of Fox Film." And again: "My rubber stamp dummy directors of 1929, dumb as they were and as automatic as they were obliged to be, being only rubber stamps . . ." etc., etc.

The tragic descent of William Fox to the 20-million-dollar level was due to the fact that his companies became too prosperous and attracted the greedy attention of Big Business. True enough, Mr. Fox aided and abetted the swallowing act by his craze for loans to expand his industry to more and more titanic proportions. His downfall was directly due to his proclivity for heavy borrowing. In the end, it was another case of frozen assets and inability to secure cash. Sooo—to amalgamate Ed Wynn and Mae West—they done him wrong. The multifarious details of the liquidation of William Fox sound as incredible as a book of fiction. Indeed, Mr. Sinclair, speaking out of long experience, confides to the reader that "perjury and jury-bribing, wire-tapping, burglary, arson and even murder, are part of American big business technique, and that nothing you could make up for a melodrama or a movie would be as 'raw' as the reality of Wall Street." And it must be admitted that, unless Messrs. Fox and Sinclair are guilty

of gross prevarication or even downright lying, the evidence has the ring of reality.

Attention is called to the fact that Harley Clarke, an associate of Samuel Insull, had voting control of a 500-million-dollar concern, the Utilities Power and Light Corporation, through three shares of voting stock with a market value of nine dollars. We are told of certain New Jersey men who invested \$400,000 in the Fox Film and got their money back in two years, and then picked up another 10 millions in dividends during the next 14 years. Casual reference is made to a bit of financing by Dillon, Read and Company that netted them 34 millions. W. F. confesses with pride that he was responsible for the selection of Will Hays as movie czar at a salary of \$250,000 per year. On one occasion the Lehman group offered to lend \$6,000,000 for 45 days at a price of \$600,000, which figures out at 81 per cent per annum. We are told of a million dollar fee offered to Samuel Untermyer. The firm of Charles E. Hughes was paid a fee of \$520,000 by the group which trapped William Fox. But why go on? Yet these representatives of Big Business are the ones who talk most sneeringly about graft and corruption in politics. The frankness of Mr. Fox has made possible the telling of a tale which shows that even the most brazen ward boss is a miserly piker playing penny ante in contrast with financial gamblers who play for millions.

K. P.

Scars of Battle

Company K. By William March. Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. 260 Pages. \$2.00.

WAR is a dirty business. It may be exciting, funny, bawdy, terrifying or it may be stark agony, but nowhere is it noble or elevating. All soldiers leave the field of battle in modern war with the mark of degradation and doom upon them.

That is the testimony of William March upon the late War To End All Wars. He presents it through the eyes and mouths of the enlisted men, non-coms and officers of Company K, an outfit of volunteers in our Regular Service who fought through the last eleven months of the World War in the A.E.F. Ninety-two privates, seven corporals, eight sergeants, four lieutenants and Captain "Fishmouth Terry" Matlock tell one short vivid incident each of the war, why and how each was connected with it and the significance of the event to him.

These men of Company K were once much like the National Guardsmen you see nowadays marching so bravely in the newsreels. They were like the young boys in our summer military training camps, who, it is claimed, are being made into "better citizens" by being drilled industriously with their muskets. Some of them were like our college students who now learn to play polo on government horses in their R.O.T.C. courses, far from any actual fighting. Like the men of Company K, however, their aim is to wage modern war and engage in scientific combat. Mr. March tells

powerfully and simply what this organized killing and maiming of human beings does to the individual. His lesson in every single instance is this: No one, not even a soldier, can take human life without being damned for it and without paying for it in full, sometime, somewhere.

Company K is straightforward and unpretentious. Its devastating effect and unique power are achieved by excellent writing and good reporting. Gradually the book unfolds, the men as they tell their stories take on a definite relationship to one another, the organization of the unit becomes clear, its actions and movements against the background of the war stand out sharply. The vain lieutenant who needlessly sent four men to annihilation, the hard-boiled sergeant who killed a wounded German by pounding on his face with a rifle butt, the private who knew no fear because a fortune teller told him of an unscathed future, the promising concert pianist who lost three fingers of one hand, the meek ex-hardware clerk who won three medals for bravery, the couturier who was made the company cook and took pride in his work—each speaks his piece. This piling up of incident upon incident—from Sergeant William Tietjen, who didn't mind shooting down Germans a thousand yards away because they looked so small, to Private Theodore Irvine, whose wounded leg kept rotting away until the thirteenth operation, ten years after the war, left him without any leg at all—gives the book a dramatic sweep and a passionate intensity.

Company K should be made a textbook for those military enthusiasts who have forgotten or who never knew what the late war was really like. If they read nothing else in contemporary war literature, they should at least be made to commit to memory Private Colin Urquhart's reflections upon mankind, delivered at the end of thirty years as a professional soldier: "All I know, surely, is that there should be a law, in the name of humanity, making mandatory the execution of every soldier who has served on the front and managed to escape death there. The passage of such a law is impossible, of course: for Christian people who pray in their churches for the destruction of their enemies, and glorify the barbarity of their soldiers in bronze—those very people would call the measure cruel and uncivilized and rush to the polls to defeat it."

ROBERT WOHLFORTH

The Eleventh Commandment

The Eleventh Commandment. By Francis Neilson. Viking Press. \$2.50.

SOME years ago Francis Neilson wrote a book entitled "The Old Freedom," in which he elaborated the thesis that all civilizations increase injustice and perish by heightening that injustice until they destroy the inner unity of the state. The fight for freedom is therefore always a struggle to return to the "old freedom" which existed in a more primitive day.

This new book is really a fuller development of the earlier theme. Emphasizing the fact that all religious and ethical idealism tried to stem the growing tide of injustice, which expresses itself in agrarian civilizations through land monopoly, Mr. Neilson appropriately entitles his book "The Eleventh Commandment." The reference is to the law of the Deuteronomic code: "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbor's landmark."

Mr. Neilson gives a most interesting account of the struggle of idealists in every age against injustice and of the efforts of philosophers to define justice. He writes of the modern period as if high taxation were the only ill from which the poor suffer. One has the impression that he has steeped himself so thoroughly

in the problem of justice in agrarian civilizations that he fails to understand the unique character of the problem of justice in an industrial one. The book closes with several chapters in which the author tries to revive a now pretty generally exploded theory that Jesus was really a rebel, after the manner of Amos, against land monopoly. That is what Jesus is supposed to have meant by his assertion that he came to fulfill the law.

R. N.

CORRESPONDENCE

Pacifism in France

IN a recent issue you printed the story of the young French pacifist Gerard Leretour. His purpose in Belgium was to persuade a number of young fellow-countrymen to return to France and, when arrested, to go on a hunger strike to end only with release or death. When he failed in this plan he returned alone. Your readers may be interested in a few other indications that the anti-war forces in "militaristic" France are more numerous and vigorous than most Americans realize.

To begin at the point of greatest influence, some of the most influential statesmen, while not absolute pacifists, are sufficiently ardent advocates of peace to be viciously attacked by the chauvinists. Twenty-six French peace organizations are listed in "Nous Voulons la Paix." This four-hundred page book is published under the "high patronage" of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and bears the sub-title "General Unification of the Activities of the Pacifist Forces." It contains information and statements of statesmen, writers, and university presidents on the history of pacifism in France and in Germany, the place in the peace struggle of veterans, women, the youth, the schools, the Catholic and Protestant churches, Free Masonry, the theatre, and the cinema; and a section, historical and argumentative, on conscientious objection. (It may be obtained, in French only, at the S. R. I. P., 14, rue de Richelieu, Paris, for forty cents.)

The activities of these groups include publishing pamphlets and weekly journals, organizing "locals," lectures and demonstrations, offering legal assistance to conscientious objectors, fostering international fellowship, etc. They are inadequately unified but are increasingly working together. At a recent "grand meeting," at which Leretour presided, a number of organizations combined forces: The League for the Rights of Man, The Woman's League for Peace, The War Resisters, the International League of Peace Workers, and others. M. Camille Planche, député, and president of the League of Pacifist Legionnaires (sic) has issued a call for participation in a demonstration at Geneva on March 19. Associated with M. Planche's organization will be the International Federation of Associations of the Mutilated and Veterans and the Inter-Allied Federation of Veterans. The object is to demand of the Disarmament Conference speedy and effective action.

As for the newspapers, M. Georges de la Fouchardiere, a sort of French Heywood Broun, and the best and probably the most widely read columnist in France, in his column "Hors d'Oeuvre" in *L'Oeuvre* (an unofficial Paris daily which speaks for the parties of the Left as a group) carries on a brilliant and continuous campaign of logic and laughter against war and the military. *Monde*, a brilliant and thoroughly documented weekly, edited by Henri Barbusse, is always on the job. It published recently an apparently incontrovertible exposé of the selling of *Le Temps* to

the munition makers. *Lu dans la Presse Universelle* is a weekly review of world news, on the order of the *Literary Digest*, but it reproduces a great deal of material from the radical press, including powerful anti-war cartoons. Other papers that are strong for peace are the *Populaire* (Socialist), *L'Humanité* (Communist), *Journal of Veterans and the Mutilated and the Victims of the War*, *La Défense* (International Labor Defense), and *La Jeune-République* (organ of the youth organization of the same name). There are at least two papers exclusively devoted to peace education and action: *L'Eveil des Peuples* (Foyer de la Paix) and *La Patrie Humaine* (International Peace Workers' League).

As for the acid test of submitting to personal persecution, Leretour is not unique. A young theological student named Martin is serving a year in prison because he refused compulsory military training. Prominent men came to his defense, saying that his "crime" was to share the misconception of MM. Paul-Boncour and Edouard Herriot that war had been outlawed! But to no avail. M. Daladier, president of the council, recently offered Martin his liberty if he would recant and serve his military term. Martin replied that his convictions, as a Christian, were firm. Marius Michel, who fought in the World War and is now a farmer in Yonne, has returned his mobilization notice to the Minister of War with a statement that he is a member of the War Resisters' League and will not, under any circumstances, participate in another war. His trial is pending.

I have presented only a few brief glimpses of pacifist activity. It is not sufficiently united, and many pacifists are more heroic than intelligent—they do not clearly see that the roots of war are in the present economic system, and are therefore not fighting to the best advantage. But this is not true of all. And, taken as a whole, doesn't it sound like home? Except that here the students, the college professors and the veterans are more awake and more active. French pacifists, moreover, are sometimes called on to make sacrifices which generally come to Americans only in war time.

From this European perspective the indispensable function of *THE WORLD TOMORROW* is clearer to me than ever before.

Paris, France

HARRY BONE

A Call

FROM books to breadlines is a flip slogan, yet it is none the less true. College graduates and the professional classes in general have been the group most severely affected in this depression. From the fragmentary and conservative figures so far published, one learns that there are at least 75,000 unemployed school teachers in this country; that in New York City alone there are upwards of 5,000 unemployed engineers and 1,500 unemployed journalists. The American Library Association estimates that there are 14 unemployed librarians to every position in the profession. A bare living is what the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care estimates most medical practitioners earn. And in the law the story is a similar one. Among college-trained business people, social workers, and others of undesignated professions, the devastation wrought by the present crisis is incalculable.

There is not one legislative proposal in Congress at present designed to cope with the problems contained in the above statistics. While President Roosevelt has been commendably active, the forces arrayed against him when it comes to significant unemployment relief and to more permanent remedial measures will

prevent such legislation unless the people directly involved insistently and intelligently keep their plight before the eyes of their Washington representatives.

Now is the time to deliberate on and to work for a program designed to eliminate the causes of an unemployment that is so widespread that it throws a whole generation off balance. Now is the time to lay the basis for legislation which, within the limits of human fallibility, will end forever the kind of suffering we have had the last few years. The Association of Unemployed College Alumni calls on all unemployed college graduates and professional people to assemble in Washington, May 2 and 3, to discuss the basis for a legislative program of abiding permanence, and to call our plight to the attention of the nation's leaders. It is fitting and proper that the educated classes, which have suffered so terribly, should undertake such action.

Interested groups and individuals should send communications and inquiries to Dorothy Shoemaker, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

New York, N. Y.

JOSEPH P. LASH, Chairman

A Different Interpretation

I HAD not supposed that anything in a Socialist periodical could irritate me quite so much as "Lessons from Germany" [editorial in March 22nd issue of *THE WORLD TOMORROW*]. In 1919 the German Socialists, then in power, used their whole energy to destroy communism and to protect the capitalists. The world thus lost one of the greatest opportunities of modern history—entirely because of the Socialists. The writer of that editorial seems to have learned no lesson from Germany.

Washington, D. C.

EMERSON STRINGHAM

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Workers' Chautauqua

A GROUP of twelve students and teachers of Brookwood Labor College have formed a road company to carry an entertainment program of an educational nature to labor and unemployed organizations in Pennsylvania and New Jersey during the latter half of April. Plays, skits and songs will comprise the proposed "Program of Labor Culture With a Kick in It." Groups interested in securing the talents of these students for entertainment programs are invited to communicate with Mark Starr, Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y., for dates and terms.

World Tomorrow Radio Hour

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Speaker: Devere Allen

WEVD University of the Air features:

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Psychology, Wednesdays, 10:15 P.M.

Hendrik Van Loon, Fridays, 8:15 P.M.

Debates and Symposia, Sundays, 10:00 P.M.

Who's Who in This Issue

E. G. Homrighausen is pastor of the Carrollton Avenue Reformed Church in Indianapolis and is on the faculty of Butler University.

Robert Wohlforth, formerly a student at West Point, has written several articles exposing militarist propaganda in this country.

Harry Bone, former student secretary of the American Y. M. C. A., is now studying in Paris.

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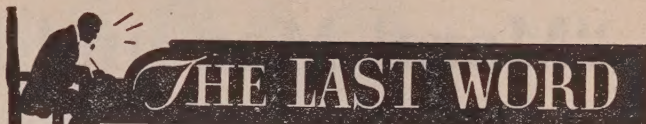
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HITLER may have been all right when he was born, but he has lost ground steadily ever since. . . . And that reminds me that Mussolini has gone in for national planning in a big way. He has instructed the people to produce 17,000,000 new-born babes during the coming ten years. The bachelors' tax is being supplemented by local prizes for the largest families. This somehow starts me pondering on the testimony recently offered against birth control by a well-intentioned paterfamilias who said that he could not help wondering whether, if we had had legal contraception throughout our history, we should have had a Lincoln or a Washington. Well, it works both ways; and if birth control had eliminated one Hitler, that alone would have justified its cosmic utility.

Two blocks from Unter den Linden I once saw a whimsical painting in the window of a Jewish shop. It was entitled "Birth Control" and showed a dwarf-like ogre busily chopping away at a tree which leaned perilously over a dark stream. In the tree where apple blossoms might normally have been expected, were blooming little infants, each shrieking loudly against the dire fate of not being permitted to be conceived. This is rather popular theory among the opponents of the prevention of conception. But I'll bet my brown shirt against a pretzel that this Jewish shop-keeper would feel differently if instead of pink lips these bawling, mythical babies had worn sawed-off mustaches.

We are given, as humans, to frantic searches for goals of scant importance. A Connecticut woman has been arrested for a sex determination racket. Prospective mothers, upon payment of five dollars down and a note for fifty dollars when their child was born with the desired sex, were instructed to lie upon their right sides on a certain date and pray to Saint Joseph. Countless victims did so, and the high priestess of fake biology, having about a fifty-fifty chance of success, had been cleaning up a small fortune. Now the sex of a child, it seems to me, is of almost no importance except under a medieval system of inheritance or in the case of royalty. What is of importance, however, are the inherited tendencies which may or may not lead in later life to applying the hirsute appurtenances and the mentality of a screen Charlie Chaplin to the functions of government.

Why is it that many people still cling so pathetically to the outworn ambition to have boy babies? Of course, for variety's sake, there might be a legitimate demand. But it appears to my mind that girls are distinctly preferable; they can't, unless they are Mediterranean fishwives, raise mustaches even if they want to. Not that I am irrevocably opposed to mustaches on every face; but they are dangerously like fire and water—good servants, but mighty poor masters.

THE effect of the Hitler Idiocy on French nerves is obvious.

Take, for instance, the little town of Grisy, in the Department of Ile de France. Not long ago the mayor received an official letter from the government, which read: "War having been declared, all eligible men shall join their corps as soon as the black and white bills have been posted by the gendarmerie." Writing a notice and putting it up outdoors, the mayor shortly had aroused the whole village. Farewells were said, plans laid for the dark days ahead. But the gendarmes posted no bills. Investigation revealed that Grisy had failed to receive a second notice that was sent to all towns explaining that it was only a rehearsal, after all.

It's worth remembering, in all the excitement, that the Germans are notoriously bad propagandists. This is only a tribute to the honesty of the German character. Even the present rulers of the Reich, with the best determination in the world, have proved themselves only the most inept of prevaricators. Fascist Germany reminds one of the situation described by an old-time English critic of wrong-doing: Some lie in the graveyards, and the rest lie in the government.

Eccentricus ■

"Moral Man and Immoral Society"

JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

LET me say first quite plainly that I conceive it to be the duty of every thinking member of the I. L. P. to read and inwardly digest Reinhold Niebuhr's *Moral Man and Immoral Society* with the least possible delay. First, because it is a book which may well prove to be as epoch-making as *The Social Contract* or *The Communist Manifesto*; secondly, because it deals, with complete courage and profound insight, with the specific problem which is vexing the heart and mind of the I. L. P. at this moment.

Because it is masterly, in its comprehensiveness and clarity of insight, in its imaginative understanding and its unflinching realism, I shall not pretend that I am reviewing it in a bare thousand words. In this book is the substance of a hundred books—and those hundred, good ones—the theme for a year's debate, the germ of a new Socialist understanding commensurate with our British revolutionary problem, the means to a fully conscious understanding of the recent instinctive dissociation of the I. L. P. from the opportunism of Labour on the Right and the revolutionary romanticism of Communism on the Left. Here is, if I am not completely mistaken, the text-book of political principle and political strategy for which the new I. L. P. has been half-consciously waiting.

Let me be clear. I am not offering Niebuhrism instead of Marxism to the new I. L. P. I am recommending to it Niebuhr's Marxism—the Marxism of a man who, like Marx himself, is a Marxist and something more. I am convinced that it is the lack of that "something more" which has always made, and will always make, literal Marxism ineffective in this country. For that "something more" is the very life-blood of Marxism: it is that which changes what is, in strict theory, a fatalistic creed into a dynamic faith.

Niebuhr is a Marxist and "something more." He knows that the morality of the individual counts for something; he knows that that something is not much; but he knows that something is essential to the life of a real revolutionary party. In short, he is a psychological realist as well as an economic one. He sees that "the success of the Marxian revolutionary formula in Russia has given rise to confusions and hopes which could be realised in Western civilisation only through the rarest concatenation of circumstances." He does not make this judgment as an *obiter dictum*; he bases it solidly on a careful examination of the resources of power available on each side.

First, the middle-classes are far more firmly based in the modern social structure than Marx imagined: the disinherited white-collar worker does not turn to revolutionary Socialism; he turns to Fascism. Second, the agricultural labourer is not revolutionary: he is instinctively anti-collectivist. And, third, the cultural and religious opposition to the proletarian negation of culture and religion, exemplified in the undiminished strength of the Centre

Party in Germany, is much stronger than it was in Russia.

Add to this, fourthly, the division in the proletarian ranks themselves. The skilled and semi-skilled worker, the worker in the sheltered trades is "more collectivistic than the white-collar worker, but is, in many respects, less revolutionary."

Niebuhr's final conclusion—and it is one of the utmost importance, both in its negative and positive implications, for a realistic Socialist strategy—is this:

Western civilisation will not be ripe for proletarian revolutions for many decades, and may never be ripe for them, unless one further condition of the Marxian prophecy is fulfilled, and that is that the inevitable imperialism of the capitalistic nations will involve them in further wars on a large scale. Such a war would not necessarily result in communistic revolutions, but it would shatter the authority of some States sufficiently, and create enough social chaos to make some kind of revolution possible.



THAT is a sober and sobering analysis of the actual power-factors for and against a Leninist revolution in a Western industrial nation. It is no wonder that, as Niebuhr says, realistic Marxians "do not give themselves to the romantic illusions current among certain classes of intellectuals, who think that a revolution is an easy achievement." . . .

But Niebuhr's book is not negative; it is positive. It is imaginative, prophetic, and sane. It is the book for those revolutionary Socialists who have the intellectual courage to be realists, and the spiritual faith to remain revolutionary. It tackles the real problem—namely the way by which a Socialist minority can hopefully challenge power with power: weaken the morale of the opposing ranks and strengthen the morale of its own.

Niebuhr has no doubt about the moral legitimacy of violent revolution: in the cause of equal justice the use of violent coercion is justified. Society is always based upon coercion. Morally, there is nothing to choose between the force used by governments to maintain "law and order," and force used by revolutionaries to establish a new "law and order."

Will the appeal to violence promote or retard the revolutionary aim? And here also Niebuhr has no hesitation. It will retard revolution; it will consolidate the doubtful elements into opposition, and lend the opposition moral strength. The true strategy for a revolutionary minority in the West is probably to be found in non-violent resistance.

He makes absolutely clear the vital distinction between non-resistance and non-violent resistance. On the fundamental futility of merely educational Socialism, on every variety of middle-class Socialist illusionism, Niebuhr is pitiless. Therefore he is in a position to be equally pitiless to Communistic romanticism; and he is. *Moral Man and Immoral Society* is a ruthless book; but it is one, I believe, that will help to make history.

* This review of Reinhold Niebuhr's book is reprinted from the British *New Leader*. "Moral Man and Immoral Society" is being offered free of charge with a NEW subscription for THE WORLD TOMORROW at the regular subscription rate of \$3.00 a year. (Add 15 cents for postage.)